The Bedouins of al-Qasr claim that they 62
428 follow the Islamic laws of inheritance, in which case, a
• 562 surviving daughter is entitled to one-half the share of a
surviving son (Quran IV: 177). But, in only two cases did
[423] women own land in al-Qasr: one woman was the only close
survivor of her father, and, the other woman was a widow
without sons. In fact, my informant even admitted that these
cases were exceptional, that the women were permitted to keep
the land only because the brothers of the deceased men, who
are the "rightful heirs" after the sons, did not want the
land. The Bedouins insist, on the other hand, that a girl
can claim her share of the inheritance: "It is her right."
But she will never do such a thing "because she respects
her brothers too much to accept the land which is offered to
her."

428 When the father's estate is large, certain measures
are taken to divide it between his sons. In some cases, the
division may be somewhat complex and determined over a period
of time. One example of this in al-Qasr involved a wealthy
man whose own property was divisible into parts roughly
corresponding to ecological subdivisions. The subdivisions
of the estate became the shares of the sons, and could then
be separated but remain symbiotically dependent. Ecological
relationships affirm social relations. The following is an
[159] account of inheritance rules in al-Qasr:

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I am 45 years old and my eldest brother is 53 years old. I have two younger brothers. When my father died, we four sons inherited the property of our father jointly. I told my older brother to divide the land the way in which he wanted . . . My father had divided his land into four parts before he died. Each part was a separate "farm" so that a son could raise barley or olives, as he liked . . . But my brother told me to make the decision. As it turned out, my youngest brother was the first to make his choice of the four parts. He took his land but we still kept all of our sheep together. One year later, my older brother took his share of the land, but Jabril (the next to the youngest brother) and I remained together, and still remain together. Some men want to be on their own and others do not. Our eldest brother was the first to separate his animals from the collective herd . . . When the decisions were made to divide the land between us, we got the local "holy man" to go around the area with us and to witness the boundaries. This is done so that later if a brother changes his mind, or wants to take different land, the true borders will be known. We recorded them on paper and the "holy man" knows them . . . In matters of inheritance, all sons get equal shares, but in a case where there are ten camels and three sons, then, each gets three camels and the tenth goes to the eldest brother.

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Any property which a female may own, if it is land or livestock, will go to her sons upon her death. In al-Qasr, such property will usually be sheep which a woman may accumulate through gift-giving. In one case, which is unique in al-Qasr, a woman received thirteen camels from her husband at the time of her wedding. (This was not the brideprice, for that goes to the bride's father.) At the time of her death her camels numbered seventy, and they were divided equally among her five sons. Concerning lesser items, such as clothing and jewelry, and also chickens, these are

428 inherited by a woman's daughters. The carpets and the tent,
•562 which are woven by women, are not their property to pass on
[422] for they belong to the head of the household, the shaib.

596 Economic change in al-Qasr has had its impact at the
177 level of production mode, and, also, it has affected the
178 composition of the basic family structure. One informant,
[124] who is now nineteen years old, remembers growing up in a household composed of his grandfather, father, father's brothers and their families. Since that time, his father has built another house away from the family home; one uncle has moved to Marsa Matruh and opened a shop there; his youngest uncle has built a house not far from the family home; and one uncle remains with his three wives in the original house. This fission-type process is not uncommon in a segmentary society, although as a traditional process, it represented a mechanism for dealing with ecological pressures. In the modern case, in al-Qasr, the process of fission in the Bedouin social structure proves to be an adaptive mechanism also: the fragmentation of lineage property and relations is a positive condition for the transition to a cash and market economy. Among most of the families of al-Qasr, as market orientation increases brothers begin to economically differentiate their tasks and interests with an eye to individual profits.

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595 One of my in-
124 formants, a wealthy man and a poet, said that since he could not love two women equally he would never take a second wife. He also said that he was unwilling to give his daughter to a man who refused to promise him that she would be his only wife.

593 Throughout his life, the father is dominant and his washuun is subjective. He is the master of his naja' and the
[596] social behavior of his wife and offspring toward him has both a moral and a pragmatic aspect. They show respect and obed-
[768] ience because "it is the decent thing to do;" further, just as he provides for their material needs while he is alive, so the property which he leaves them will sustain them after
428 his death. As we have already noted, in theory, the daughters
•[562] inherit one-half of the shares which the sons receive; in fact, females inherit only if they are the sole survivors of the male. But the surviving wife, or wives, will take a cash amount equal to their brideprice from the husband's estate. The Bedouins say that this price will be paid before any other inheritance shares are distributed. In addition, the
768 wife has the right to remain in her husband's house or tent, and it is the duty of the eldest son to look after her. She may remain at home until death, provided she never brings a man who may be considered a prospective husband into the house.

593 The rights and duties involved in the father-washuun relationship show that the ideal authority structure of the

604 538 brother to special place in the social structure states that [539] "two-thirds of the boy belongs to the khal, and he is like the father: the remaining one-third is divided equally between the father and the khal.". The Bedouins are always quick to point out to the stranger, such as I was, that this means there is only one-sixth of the boy which belongs to the father. A clearer case of the ideology of kinship versus [539] descent could not be had. Another proverb has it that "the good which you see in a boy comes from khal khalu ("the maternal uncle of his maternal uncle"). Any kinship relation may be the basis for a new network of social relations by making use of the classificatory principle. The Bedouins [539] exaggerate the status and role of the mother's brother by saying that "when a boy does good or bad, one wants to know the name of his khal not the name of his father." This statement, which favors cognatic links over patrilineal ties, is not true but such an attempt at emphasis indicates that this relationship is something of value in the Bedouin society.

604 578 In the case of any conflict "between his tribes," the Bedouins say, "the boy must support the tribe of his khal." This, of course, does not mean that the individual should take up arms against his patrilineal corporate group, but that he should seek to mediate the conflict. The political • 562 593 554 182 578 value of conflict avoidance and conflict control is also conspicuous in the dual role which the mature female plays

562 593 554 182 578 in Bedouin society, that is, the role of wife-daughter. The principles of patrilineality and cognation do not work against each other when the girl marries outside her corporate group, nor does her new dual role present a case of role conflict. 562 593 554 182 578 On the contrary, the wife-daughter role functions to bind together two groups which are structurally differentiated by the rule of patrilineality. During time of peace, the wife-*613 [431] [628] [574] daughter acts as a bond-maker by carrying gifts back and forth between the two groups, often bringing some of her younger patrilineal relatives back to her husband's house or tent for short visits. During a time of conflict or war, the 562 593 554 [726] [584] Bedouins point out, she is the only person who can cross the battle lines unharmed. She is a match-maker as well as a peace-maker. Often she influences the selection of mates by individuals in both her husband's group and her father's 562 593 554 582 group. The Bedouins say that "after the bint 'amm, a man should marry his bint khal ("mother's brother's daughter") because she is like his bint 'amm." Usually, over a period of a few generations, a given direction in marriage is sustained (see Figure 10), and it is one function of this wife-daughter role to accomplish this important political action.

562 593 554 *613 182 The role of wife-daughter, then, may be seen as one important aspect of what Fortes (1953:33) calls, "complementary filiation," the essential mechanism which provides the link between the corporate groups of al-Qasr society and the kin groups of the parent who does not determine descent.

671 change in al-Qasr must proceed.

671 177 Bedouin law should be considered within its historical context, especially as it has reference to the Maliki school of Islamic Law. The Maliki school, or "rite," (madhhab) of law is considered to be the most conservative interpretation of the doctrine of the Prophet Muhammad. Therefore, the Maliki school is thought to reflect the society and tribal traditions of pre-Islamic Arabia more dependably than any of the other three schools of law. For instance, the Maliki 671 177 428 school, in the domain of family law, stresses the importance and the primacy of agnate rights and claims. This is especially so in matters of inheritance: the law states that in the absence of agnate heirs the property of the deceased passes, not to female survivors but, to the central treasury of the State. This single legal aspect helps us to understand the Bedouin practice of disallowing the female to inherit and should be a consideration in any study of Bedouin succession rules.

• [562]

175 671 177 Maliki Law was introduced into North Africa during the ninth century, and became the official legal doctrine of the Berber dynasties. It was first taught in this part of the world, probably, by Yahya ibn Yahya, a student of Malik ibn Anas, the founder of the school. Murray (1935:313) presents a valuable legal document from the Western Desert in which the name "Yahya" is frequently cited as the authority

175 671 177 for legal interpretation. For instance: "We are also told by Yahya that (the Caliph) Mu'awiya ibn Sufian said that a wound on the body should be assessed at half the value of that wound on the head or face" (1935:324). Maliki law, 671 177 derived in large part from the Bedouin traditions of Arabia, may be seen to characterize the legal norms of the tribal-based social structure in the Western Desert. The Bedouins of al-[428] Qasr themselves claim that they are within the bounds of [562] Islamic Law when they deny the female the right to inherit, though they do have other, and more secular, justifications for the practice.

671 182 648 As we have already noted, in the above quote from the "holy man" of al-Qasr, the Bedouins feel that the 'awaiyid can succeed where governmental law will fail. They say that "the government does not understand the problems of the Bedouins," that "government troops cannot function in the desert." They feel that they need the 'awaiyid for the sake of political order itself: "If the Bedouins did not have the 'awaiyid, they would eat each other. The 'awaiyid is so important that a man who commits a wrong in town will lie to the government, and then dutifully return to the tribe for Bedouin justice."

[656] In 1933, the government "abolished" the 'awaiyid and insisted that the Bedouins settle their difference in the civil courts in accord with Egyptian law. According to

I checked the contents of this document with my own informants who agreed that it was authentic and represented the 'awaiyid as it should be practiced. Almost the whole of the 'awaiyid refers to the circumstances surrounding the occurrence of killing and the payment of the diiya. The case studies which I present below reflect the 'awaiyid as it was practiced in 1935.

Blood-money is calculated relative to three things: whether or not a killing was premeditated or accidental; the sex of the victim; and whether or not the victim was a freeman or a slave. The full diiya is paid in the case of intentional killing, and three-fourths of this amount is due in the case of accidental killing. The diiya for a woman is one-half that for a man whether or not the killing is intentional. There are no slaves in al-Qasr, only their descendents who are now freemen. In the case where a pregnant woman is killed, the foetus will be examined and should it prove to be a male then the full diiya will be due.

An important mechanism for conflict regulation in the Western Desert is the nazaala, i.e., "the act of taking refuge." If a killing is committed, the killer immediately seeks protection by going to the residence of a neutral third party. The third party, who may or may not be an 'aqila, and his lineage give protection to the whole tertiary segment of the killer. This may involve the actual relocation of the killer's bait to the residence of the protecting group for

671 562 Implicit in the 'awaiyid is the assumption that the woman is less responsible for her deeds and something of a weakling. The Bedouins have a proverb which says that "the devil whispers in the ear of the woman." If a woman slays a [682] man, intentionally or accidentally, the diiya is considered as for unintentional killing. Where sex offenses are concerned, it makes a difference if the act takes place in the man's (i.e. the husband's) tent or in the desert, and, of course, it makes a difference whether or not it is a case of rape or adultery. If a man finds another man and his wife in his dwelling in the act of adultery, he may kill the man and pay the diiya for unintentional killing. From this diiya, he deducts the amount of the bride-price and 50 L.E. for trespassing. The fine for rape ranges from 10 L.E. to 100 L.E. On the other hand, if intercourse takes place with the woman's consent, the fine is only 5 L.E. or 10 L.E. If a virgin is deflowered, the fine will be 100 L.E., and the man will have to marry her, paying the bride-price asked for by the girl's father and going through the normal procedure for marriage. Where offenses involve unmarried women, all fines are paid to the father. In cases concerning married women, fines go to the husband. According to the [586] Bedouins, it would be a great dishonor to the man's family [558] if the husband were not to divorce his wife after it becomes known that she has been promiscuous. They said that if a man

671 They said that if a man
•562 insisted on keeping a promiscuous wife, his family would
684 "write a barawwa aginst him." I heard of no sex offenses in
681 al-Qasr while I was there.
[114]

671 The penalty for stealing, according to the 'awaiyid,
685 is that the thief shall pay compensation, by himself, in the amount of four times the value of the stolen object. On the
* [613] other hand, if the thief is a poor man, he will pay thrice the value of the stolen object and the remaining fourth will be paid by his lineage.

671 The 'awaiyid recognizes the territorial claims of the
685 lineage. Disputes arising over conflicting claims to land
*613 and wells are handled at Bedouin courts in much the same way
578 as personal injury cases are, with one exception. Usually, a
[554] larger number of elders and rajal khair will be consulted in an advisory capacity by the 'awaaqil handling the case. The 'awaaqil consider the specific history of a particular piece of land or well (for instance, each well is known by its own name), and determine the ownership in accordance with the testimony of elders and individuals of high social status. Most of the problems over land and water rights in al-Qasr have reference to what is still considered lineage-owned
685 territory in the barley-and-pasture sector. In the 'izba
578 sector, conflict over land ownership rights, since they are
648 rights which are registered with the government, is settled in the Egyptian court of law. Only one such case came up while

423 long time ago. This seems to be supported by the evidence
*613 shown below, for often conflict over land and water rights is
182 represented by litigation between individuals and not groups.
[691]

I have arbitrarily assigned to the classification of
422 property rights the rights over women. I have done this
•562 because a man acquires such rights as a member of a lineage
*613 jural group and secures them with the backing of public opinion and the 'awaiyid. Also, though a man in al-Qasr does not "own" his wife, he does have the legal rights to certain things related to her: he has the right to her sexual favors, and the right to claim her offspring for his own lineage.

685 Settlement in cases dealing with the infringement of
695 property rights, if they do not lead to personal injury cases, will usually be concluded by arbitration or oath-taking, either of which brings the two parties into agreement.

691 Date: 1964. Case: Quarrel between Bait 'Umran and Bait Idris
685 of 'Ailit Ma'fas over the ownership of a well. The 'awaaqil
*613 sent for the two parties involved, and they met on Wednesday,
* 578 market day. And the 'awaaqil told the two parties: "This is
692 a shame ('aib), you must be friends because you are from the same tribe." The 'awaaqil knew "from past history and from truthful elders" that the well belonged to 'Ait Idris. The 'awaaqil made 'Ait 'Umran change their minds about their claim
[695] to the well. Before the litigation 'Ait 'Umran had insisted

said: "I did not take anything." The 'awaaqil of both parties met and told the accused: "If you have anything give it to us; if you do not have anything then swear the oath to this fact." Members of 'Ailit Ma'fas said that the boy was innocent and told the 'awaaqil that the boy should have his rights according to the 'awaiyid (i.e. he should be allowed to swear the oath to establish his innocence). The boy accused of the theft, his father, and two other members of 'Ailit Ma'fas selected by the accusers swore the oath and the problem was over. Two months later, the accuser from the Kamailat lost his eye in an accident, because swearing the oath has consequences for both parties. A bad oath will work against the one who makes it; there will be a curse upon him, his children, and his money. And the bad effects of an oath will also work against the one who falsely accuses another making him swear the oath.

The final two cases deal with marriage rights. The first illustrates a number of things which I have touched on in the previous discussion of marriage: that a man may choose to ignore the jural structures of the lineage group where the desires of his offspring are concerned; that the female is not the totally subjugated person which one might expect to find in the strongly patrilineal Bedouin society; and that the role of "holy man" functions in the marital area of authority relations.

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562 The second, rather complex, case occurred while I was in the field. Once again, the role of the "holy man" is shown to operate in cases dealing with women. Shown here also is an interesting example of the cultural definition of abnormality.

*613 No Date. Case: Quarrel between 'Ailit al-Abaidi ('Ali Abyad)
578 and 'Ailit al-Afrad ('Ali Abyad) over marriage rights. A man
582 from al-Abaidi agreed that his daughter could marry a man but
792 the rest of the 'aiela did not approve of this marriage. Since the man could not go to his 'aqila, who disapproved of the marriage, he took his problem to a "holy man." The "holy man" decided that the girl should marry the man she wanted to marry, but he was afraid that this would cause trouble in the 'aiela. The "holy man" decided to marry the man and woman, [586] and then to divorce them for a period of one year so that the conflict would abate. The girl's father knew of this marriage but the other members of the 'aiela did not. After a period of one year, the groom went to the "holy man" and said: 'Decide anything that I can do, but I must have the girl." The "holy [681] man" decided to make him pay a kubaara (expiation) fee of [684] 100 L.E. to the girl's 'aiela, and he married them again.

*613 Date: 1965. Case: Quarrel within a tertiary segment of the
619 Qinaishat tribe concerning marriage rights. A girl from the
578 Qinaishat tribe had refused to marry her paternal cousin, but
582 he was insistent upon his right to have her.

*613 with Bait Bu Taram of 'Ailit Lazumi. These marriages and
159 their resultant alliances enhance the political power and
581 social status of Hajj 'Ali within and without al-Qasr.
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Although he has no education himself, and neither reads
159 nor writes, Hajj 'Ali has sent his son to the University of
156 Alexandria. Hajj 'Ali's son is the only boy from al-Qasr
873 ever to attend the university. Hajj 'Ali desired that his
[212] son study law at the university or enter the military academy "and become an officer." But his son objected to this, saying: "Either way I will be employed by the government and will not be permitted to travel and see other countries." Hajj 'Ali did not argue with this: he said that his son should study what he wished. The son is now studying in the Faculty of Commerce
156 at Alexandria. Hajj 'Ali is also sending his daughters to
159 the primary school in al-Qasr. Not all of the Bedouins believe
872 that girls should receive an education.
•562

156 Hajj 'Ali places among the "status group" in terms
159 of wealth. Although he has now committed himself to olive-
554 farming as a way of life, he remains one of the biggest sheep
472 owners in al-Qasr. Therefore, he is identified with both traditional and modern symbols of status. Hajj 'Ali differs in
156 one important way from other members of the "status group"
159 in that he owns three small general stores, two in al-Qasr
554 and one far to the west in Sallum. This fact has several
443 significant implications. Shops in al-Qasr (there are five
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*[613]

156 to serve other than what they eat." Hajj 'Ali is not only
159 conscious of social stratification in his society, but he also
554 has a great deal of empathy with the less endowed, a pre-
571 requisite of a traditional Bedouin leader and an advantageous
574 one for a modern leader.
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He is aware of most traditional institutions and how
156 they relate to conditions of modernity. Hajj 'Ali, whose own
159 marriages speak for his political acumen, sees only disadvantages
554 in the cousin-right marriage custom of the Bedouins. His
829 interest in getting on with the business of change, so to
582 speak, has led him to question a basic right contained in the Bedouin principle of lineage structure and corporate membership.

> A thing which I do not like about our customs is the idea that a man has a right to his uncle's daughter. The man binds his cousin and in the end he might not marry her and will be the cause of her never marrying. He gives himself the authority to decide whom she may or may not marry. If he knows she desires to marry a certain man, he says: "She can marry anyone but not that one."

[562] Here he challenges the traditional right of the individual male in Bedouin society, favoring the rights of the female.

[177] The emancipation of the female, especially in rights and
[178] duties concerned with the marriage contract, is an element
[562] of the modernization process in Egyptian society and the Middle East in general.

* 613 The bait, as a political group, is in part structurally
602 defined by the corporate principle which states that blood-kin
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from the process of dispute settlement; and the semi-nomadic nature of the population in the area. 114 123

The reliance on the case-study method and especially that of Turner's "social drama" which requires extensive and detailed knowledge of the sequential development of a number of cases over a long period of time proved to be a major task in a society where disputes are settled not in formal hearings, but by means of informal mediation and behind the scene negotiations. These activities covered a large area, and were shrouded in a great deal of secrecy. The assumption is that the parties involved in the dispute should be given the privacy and chance to arrive at an acceptable settlement without being conscious of or influenced by the opinion of non-interested parties. The public hearing, or the mi'ad, loves the announcement of the agreement arrived at in private. As will be seen later, very little factual information about the dispute is discussed in the mi'ad. No record is kept of either the discussion in the mi'ad or the preceding negotiations. The process of dispute settlement is, then, highly decentralized. To be able to follow one particular dispute involves the constant reliance on informants not only to acquaint the anthropologist with the places of negotiations, but also to fill the gaps in the information about the process of negotiation itself. 114 123 124 627 578

As a woman anthropologist, I found myself at a disadvantage in a society where women were excluded from public participation. It is true that from the very beginning of the field work I was never cast into the role of the native woman, yet, my position as a woman posed a certain number of problems. When I first arrived in the area, I made a deliberate effort not to identify with the native women. When it was suggested to me that the relatively short skirts I wore were not practical for riding donkeys 114 123 562

or walking in the strong winds characteristic of the area, and that the floor-length native dress would be more appropriate, I refused the advice for fear of being identified in the minds of the people with the natives, and thus being treated in the same way. The possibility of being identified with native women was not very strong, because from the very beginning I did not act like one. I did things and talked about things that native women had never done or talked about. I drove a car, read, and wrote, and talked about national and local politics. More important than that though, to the tribal population, was that I was a member of the bar association of Egypt, and that I had practiced law for a year in Cairo. Every time I was introduced, the fact that I was an attorney was made evident. This gave legitimacy to my interest in studying the tribal legal system, and in many ways they were flattered than an attorney, especially a woman city attorney, would be interested in their law. Yet, in native clothes or not, in the native female role or not, I was still a woman, and as such I was not part of any serious activity, especially those of dispute settlement. My mere presence in any part of the dispute settlement made the gathering seem somehow less serious. At the beginning of the field work a deliberate effort was made to keep me from knowing anything about the whereabouts of the negotiations or what was going on. I had to bribe men, women and children to tell me where the negotiations were taking place and who they involved, and then appear on the scene uninvited. This condition lasted for about two months. At that time the news of my presence in the area spread around, and I had attended many of the negotiations that men became less conscious of my presence. In fact, some even asked me to attend the meetings where some parts of the negotiations were conducted and give them my opinion as to the fairness of the settlement.

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613 554 [157] [428] [556] In performing his functions within the bait, personal qualities such as wisdom, soundness of ideas, personal persuasiveness are of importance. But the main basis of his authority is patrilineal succession. The Aqila has no economic power to speak of. Although many aqila are among the wealthiest members of their baits, many more are among its poorest. The nature of the economic process and the pastoral life of Awald Ali is such that the economic position of the individual is always flucuating. Nor does the Aqila have any military power at his disposal, or any command of the use of force to back his decisions or to make them binding upon members of his bait. [428] The main source of compliance to the Aqila's decisions comes from the knowledge that the Aqila has the authority to make such decisions and that he has acquired this authority through the legitimate channel of patrilineal succession.

613 428 • 562 [619] Where membership in formal groups is transmitted by descent, Awlad Ali always choose the patriline. The son of Awlad Ali is regarded as Awlad Ali even though his mother might not be from the tribe, while a woman who marries outside the tribe transmits no rights in the tribe to her children. The importance of agnatic kin is reinforced by an solidary of brothers which is extended laterally to patrilateral cousins. It is also shown in the fact that sons are favored in inheritance usually to the exclusion of daughters. The male line is viewed by Awlad Ali as the natural principle when it comes to anything which is inheritable, whether property or position. In an attempt to defend Shei'eb's position and his right to be the Aqila, one informant told me: "The main purpose that a man has in life is to have sons because it is the son who makes the man live forever. Daughters don't count. A man gives his son

613 428 [562] everything ... his property, his name, and anything he can give him, like the position of the Aqila. This is only natural." While the office of the Aqila is inherited through the male line, there seems to be no special regard for seniority. Any son of the Aqila can succeed him in the position and it is usually left to the Aqila to select the son who is to succeed him. This decision is not usually the subject matter of brotherly rivalry since the position of Aqila is regarded more as a duty than as a privilege. There has been only one case in the entire area of the Western Desert in which such a decision has lead to open fighting between brothers. "When my father became very old and his eyes bothered him, he told me that I should become the Aqila and could not say no to him," said Shei'eb. "I didn't want to become the Aqila but this was the choice of my father and I have to obey .... You owe it to your father and family to carry on his responsibilities the same way you carry his name." It was patrilineal succession upon which Shei'eb based his case. Most uninterested parties believe that he and he alone had the legitimate claim to the position.

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613 629 554 The importance of patrilineal succession as the basis of the Aqila'a authority may be better understood by contrasting it to a closely related position, that of the "mardi". A man within a bait may acquire, by virtue of personal qualities, a reputation for wisdom and soundness of opinion which may overshadow that of the Aqila. Such a person becomes known throughout a certain area as a successful mediator and go-between; and therefore is called upon to solve disputes not limited to members of his own bait. He thus acquires an informal position which cuts across a number of baits and sometimes larger political units.

634 554 657 who reach the age of military service. He is also supposed to report the presence of any fugitive or criminal in his district and report crimes occurring in that district and which involve members of the tribal segment he represents.

634 554 657 562 701 178 The first two duties of the omda to the government do not involve any conflict of interest. Unlike the rural areas where sons are considered a very important economic asset to their parents, and therefore, there is a general resentment of military service which takes the sons away and deprives the parents of their important work around the fields, Awlad Ali look at military service as

1 On the basis of one percent of the yearly yield.

an opportunity to have their sons go to the city, obtain guaranteed payment, and escape the hardship of nomadic existence. Economic activities [233] in the area do not require the cooperation of a large number of individuals, and most of the grazing of animals is done either by a paid shepherd or by one of the grown-up sons. Although there still exists an [183] ideology which values having many sons, yet with the cessation of hostilities between the tribal segments, their presence in the area has lost its [464] value. Many of the younger generation are seeking jobs with the government projects in the area or in the city. Neither one is easy to find. Joining the army is increasingly considered as an easy alternative.

634 554 657 674 The omda's function which seems to involve some conflicting loyalties is that of reporting crimes involving members of his tribal segment. But even this does not pose a serious problem as it might seem. Almost all minor crimes committed against property or persons as well as all civil disputes are left to be handled by the tribal proceedings. The duties of the omda are limited to reporting the cases of murder and serious assault

593 and expenses to the husband that constitutes the most important check
586 on the otherwise undisputed right of the father to take away his
583 daughter.

593 The woman, on the other hand, cannot refuse to go with her father,
562 for this means that she would be disobeying him. A woman who disobeys
586 her father is not worthy of his name. He can cut her off from the family, which means that she is left without any support or protection. A woman who is cut off from her family is left vulnerable to her husband and to society. She will have nobody to defend her or to be responsible for her actions. The responsibility for the woman's behavior is not transferred by marriage to the husband or his family.

682 If the woman kills or assaults someone or causes damage to property
683 for which compensation is required, her male kin pays the blood money or
602 the compensation on her behalf. It is sometimes stated that if the woman
613 has grown-up sons, they, and not her family, pay for her. Since the
562 children belong to their father's family, it may seem like transfering
593 the responsibility for the woman's actions to her husband's family. However, in all three cases where this happened, the woman was quite old, her father was dead, and her brothers were either dead or had moved outside the area and had cut off all relations with the area. She also had no nephews in the area. In such cases, the sons were the woman's closest male kin.

682 On the other hand, if the woman is the victim of murder or assault
683 for which blood money or compensation is to be paid, the husband is the
593 one to benefit from the situation. To understand why this happens, we
562 have to consider the contractual nature of marriage among Awlad Ali. It
584 has been mentioned earlier that before marriage is final, the prospective
583

684 The contractual nature of marriage is most clearly manifested in
613 the case of the wife's adultery. Since the woman belongs to her ag-
562 natic group, her behavior has direct effect on the honor of that group.
593 It is, therefore, the responsibility of her closest kin to keep an eye on her. If the woman commits adultery, it is her father or her male kin who is supposed to avenge the honor of the family by taking drastic actions, including killing, against the adulteress and/or her partner. But the marriage usually takes the woman away from the close watch of her family and puts her under the supervision of her husband who becomes entrusted with the duty of guarding her, and therefore partially responsible for her action. His responsibility is enhanced by the fact that although the wife's behavior does not affect him or his family, it has a definite effect on the honor and reputation of his children (Abou-Zeid, 1965).

684 The gravest insult that one can direct to a person in the area is
578 to describe his mother of being of disrepute. In their joking relations,
562 young men usually refer to eachother's father as being a dog or a theif
593 or a cheat, but none could refer to the mother. A woman of questionable
[522] reputation affects the reputation of her family in general and her children in particular. Any reference to the mother in the form of an accusation is supposed to be cleaned only by blood. Not only does this apply to the woman's voluntary behavior, but also to her physical and mental
[734] condition. If a woman loses her mind, the news is usually kept a secret,
684 especially by her children. The responsibility for retaliation in the
613 case of adultery, then, is divided between her nearest kinsman and her
562 husband. This gives both sides a vague and undetermined right of re-
593 venge. This division of the right of revenge explains the infrequency

of drastic actions taken in cases of adultery. Of the fourteen cases of adultery that I examined furing my field work, none resulted in the killing of the adulteress, and only three resulted in the murder of her partner. In all three cases where the adulterer was killed, the avenger was the husband; and in all three cases, the husband had to pay the bloodmoney to the murdered man's kin group. His payment of the bloodmoney, among other things, may indicate that the right of the husband to kill the adulterer is not completely accepted among Awlad Ali. All agree, however, that such killings never result in blood feuds because of the shameful circumstances in which the victim dies.

It was very difficult to obtain any detailed or reliable information about adultery cases. All the above mentioned fourteen cases were gathered from the informants, twelve of which were cases which had already been solved. For the two cases which were still open at the time of the study, information was quite vague. Usually such cases are conducted with a great amount of secrecy, with the involved parties referring to them as cases of theft, or merely by saying that the cases involve women. Only when the adultery leads to the killing of the adulteress or the adulterer are more details publicly known about the case.

But while the right to retaliate for the shameful action of an adulterous wife is vague and diffused, the right of the husband for compensation from the adulterer remains clear and undisputed. In this resepct, adultery is treated very much like theft; the adulterer has stolen the husband's exclusive right to his wife's sexual activities. The compensation for this offense is estimated at L.E. 20, in addition to the mahr, if the husband decides to divorce his wife as a result of her adultery.

581 585 562 671 Marriage does not deprive the woman of some rights of her own. The customary law gives the wife three basic rights corresponding to those of the husband's sexual services, domestic work, and obedience. Corresponding to the first of these, the wife has the right to have a normal sexual life with her husband. This right, however, is not an exclusive one, since the husband can marry more than one wife. A woman 585 586 593 can be divorced from her husband without having to return the mahr if she claims that the husband is unable to perform his sexual duties. In such cases, the marriage is usually dissolved quietly. In certain rare 585 586 593 627 instances, the husband may deny his wife's accusations. If both insist on their stand, one or both may ask to be submitted to "bait el-shana'a," or house of the dreadful deeds. Reports are extremely vague about the exact procedures involved in this case. Some informants stated that the married couple would live in a tent without sidewalls so that everybody could see what goes on inside. Most informants, however, insist that it merely means that the couple move their tent near that of a respectable man whose word is believed and honored. This man is supposed to keep a close watch on the couple's activities, by listening or looking through holes in the tent. His verdict determines the future of the marriage. 582 586 681 558 If the wife is justified in her claim, the husband is forced to divorce her and to forfeit his mahr. If, on the other hand, the verdict is for the husband, he not only can divorce her and get back the mahr, but is also entitled to kabara, or compensation, for his injured pride. There 114 178 583 is no case of bait el-shana'a in the area during the time of the field work, and most people insist that this practice is something of the past when the mahr was relatively high and was paid in livestock, in which

case its return to the husband would have caused great financial inconvenience for the wife's family.

Corresponding to the second right, the husband's right to his wife's domestic work, is the wife's right to maintenance. The husband has to support his wife. This includes providing her and her children with adequate food and proper clothing. If the husband fails to do so because of poverty, sickness, crop failure or unexpected disaster, the wife's brother or father provides her and her children with the necessary food and clothing. If the husband's failure to fulfill his duties is due to neglect, the wife can leave him and go to her father or brother who talks the matter over with the husband who, in turn, either agrees to their demands or has to divorce his wife and forfeit his mahr.

Finally, corresponding to the husband's right to his wife's obedience is the wife's right to fair treatment by her husband. There are a number of ways in which the wife is mistreated. One is excessive punishment; although the right of the husband to punish his wife is provided in the Koraan, the punishment must be excessive or severe. Awlad Ali draw a line between acceptable and severe punishment. A punishment is severe if it results in something that other people can see or hear. If the husband insults his wife or her family and others hear the action, or if he beats her and this results in visible traces, then the punishment is severe.

A wife considers herself mistreated if the husband, when married to more than one, treats any of the other wives better than he treats her. Although the wife cannot deny her husband the right to have additional wives, he must give them all equal treatment. This includes

593 providing them with the same kind of food and clothing.* It also in-
595
562 cludes dividing his time equally between them, spending one night in each wife's tent. The first wife, being the chief one, has certain privileges: her tent is the guest house, food is brought to her residence, and she is the one to divide it among the other wives, and her house is the place for the husband to stay if he becomes sick and unable to move every night from one tent to another. Other than the exceptions given to the first wife, the husband has to treat all his wives equally.

593 Normally, such cases of mistreatment do not result in divorce un-
586 less they are persistent. In most cases, if the wife is mistreated, she goes to her father's or brother's house or sends for them to come and
593 take her. For the husband to bring her back to his tent, he must pay
431 her "nasafa." This is a gift given by the husband to his wife as an acknowledgement of guilt and as a form of apology for not giving her fair treatment. In some cases the nasafa is equal to what the husband originally paid as mahr.

581 These are some of the rights that marriage gives both men and women
585 in the tribal society of Awlad Ali. These rights, however, are useless
626 unless they are backed by certain means of enforcing them. The husband's
586 rights are guaranteed by his ability to dissolve the marriage at will.
626 According to Islamic law, a man can divorce his wife by simply pronounc-
593 ing the sentence "I divorce you" in the presence of credible witnesses.
[979] No justification for divorce is demanded from the husband according to
562 the Koraan. No such privilege is given to the wife. She can obtain a

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* With provision for wives with more children.

586 626 593 [562] [774] divorce only under specific circumstances in the absence of which the husband can force her to live with him. Following the Koraanic rules, Awlad Ali give men the right to dissolve the marriage at will and without any necessary justification; however, they differentiate between cases where divorce is justified and those in which it is not. In a case of justifiable divorce, the husband can take back the mahr and possibly all other marriage expenses. In the case of unjustifiable divorce, the husband forfeits his right to regain the mahr. Divorce is justified whenever one or more of the husband's rights are violated by the wife or members of her family. Not all degrees of violation are considered as justification for divorce, however. Only intolerable violations can be considered as such. In deciding whether or not an act constitutes an [183] intolerable violation, Awlad Ali judge it against the standard of the reasonable man, the customary man, and what he would have tolerated in a similar situation.

586 183 554 What constitutes reasonable behavior does not only vary according to the situation and the manner in which the actions are taken, but also with the relative position in the social structure of the parties involved and their initial relations to one another. In the case of divorce, what constitutes grounds for justifiable divorce in one case may not be sufficient grounds for justifiable divorce in another. In one of 586 183 554 511 the cases I witnessed during the year of study, a man who divorced his wife because of her insistence that he buy her meat from the market every day of the week, was forced to forfeit his right to redeem the [44] mahr on the basis that the wife's actions had not established a basis for justifiable divorce. In the negotiations that followed, the position of the husband, as well as that of the family of the wife, were discussed.

586 183 554 511 The husband had a big herd by the standards of the tribe (600 sheep and goats). In addition, he also cultivated a large stretch of the fig land in the coastal area and was making good money. In other words, the husband could afford the standard of living the wife demanded. The other question that was discussed was the actions of the wife herself. She was the daughter of one of the wealthiest members of the same tribe as her husband; and according to the people who knew her, she was used to meat every day of the week. In other cases, similar demands by the wife to have a certain kind of food or to be clothed in certain kinds of material were considered as an intolerable situation, and the husband was justified in his divorcing her and had the right to retrieve his mahr. This was obvious in the case of one of my informants whose wife insisted that every time he went to Alexandria, he bring her silk material for a dress. Since the husband could not afford to meet her demands, her insistence was considered as grounds for the husband. The assessment of reasonableness on the part of the husband in his divorce action and therefore his right to the mahr paid is frequently influenced by the relative position of the husband and the wife's guardian in the social structure. An influential man who marries his daughter to a poor relative or nephew rarely has to return the mahr.

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586 562 Although women among Awlad Ali are not given the same legal right of divorcing the husband by pronouncing the "dismissal formula," they are given the right of certain customary procedures which in practice give them equal facilities for dissolving the marriage. This is known as the right of the woman to "throw herself." This means that the woman takes all her clothes and sometimes her children and goes to the dwelling of

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586 562 574 the man she chooses. She informs him before she enters his house that she is the wife of so and so and the daughter of so and so and that she is throwing herself on him to protect her from her husband with whom she no longer wishes to live. Like the right of refuge, the man cannot [778] refuse to let her in; and from this moment until her dispute with her husband is resolved, she is considered as his house guest and is entitled to all the hospitality a guest receives. If he refuses to extend that hospitality or refuses to take her in, she can ask for a mi'ad [629] [581] and is entitled to kabara from him. There has been no reported incidents in which a man refused that right to a woman. As soon as she settles down in the host's house, the latter takes immediate measures to find the husband and to convince him to let his wife go. In doing this, the man uses all the power of persuasion. The man selected for this purpose 586 562 574 554 is usually a respected man who can put pressure upon the husband. Sometimes he has to bribe the husband to release the wife, paying from his own money. The man has to have money, not only to be able to support [556] the wife during her stay in his house and to bribe the husband, but also because in certain instances he has to pay the husband the mahr that the father of the wife had taken in order to free her. The next step after getting the agreement of the husband to divorce his wife is to contact the father of the wife or her guardian and convince him to pay the mahr to the husband. If the father does not agree, or if he is financially unable to do so, the man on whom the woman has thrown herself is supposed to pay from his own money. In cases where the woman left the husband to be married to another man with whom she had had a relationship, the respected man tries to have the future husband pay the present husband the mahr he is supposed to pay the woman after she is divorced from her

husband. In a number of cases the husband was willing to divorce the woman after a promise by the man that she would pay him the mahr when she got married. In most cases, however, the process costs the man a considerable amount of money. Sometimes, when the woman is young and attractive, the man finds it to his advantage to keep her as his wife, since she will cost him no more expenses. On the other hand, the man cannot refuse a woman the right of refuge, since to do this or to deny her the right of hospitality will make him liable to pay kabara if she made the refusal known publicly. On the other hand, it is prestigious to be known in the area as a man to whom women go to be released from their husbands. In fact, a man who acquires a reputation of getting wives released is likely to be sought as mardi in other cases as well.

Due to the nature of his role in mediating, the woman must be careful in selecting the man over whom she throws herself. These considerations are manifested in the following case taken from my field notes. Hadia was forced by her father to marry a man from the same tribe who paid her father L.E. 100 as mahr. She did not want to marry him because she was in love with someone else of whom her father did not approve. One month after she was married, she left the tent and never came back. Later, she appeared in the house of Omda Ali, the chief of another tribe, and everyone knew that she had thrown herself on him. She later told me why she had selected Omda Ali and not the Omda of her own tribe. "Because my husband works for the Omda of my own tribe, and I thought he would be biased. Of course, I couldn't have gone to my father; he was the one who forced me to marry that man. Omda Ali is very respected and can support me... He is also rich and is known for releasing wives from their husbands." Omda Ali called the husband in and asked him to divorce

his wife. The husband agreed but insisted that she pay him L.E. 300 (this included the mahr and the marriage expenses). The Omda tried to reduce the amount but could not. He then tried to get the father to pay, but the father refused. He had to pay the husband L.E. 200 of his own money and promised that the rest would be paid when the woman remarried (it would be paid from the mahr). The husband divorced Haida. One week later she was married to her lover. I have no information about whether or not the 100 pounds was paid.

In another example, Sabha was forced by her father to marry her cousin (ibn 'amm). She could not live with him, so she threw herself on one of the holy men in the area. The holy man convinced the husband to divorce Sabha and then went to her father and convinced him to pay back the mahr to the husband, and the case was settled. People say that both the husband and the father agreed to the demands of the holy man because they were afraid of his supernatural curse. Sabha went back to her father's house.

It is obvious from these and similar cases that the success or failure of the procedure depends on the careful selection of the man on whom a woman throws herself. It is also apparent from the above examples that his right of refuge is resorted to only in cases where the woman cannot go to her father or to her closest kin to help her get a divorce because he is either unable or unwilling to help her. A father is unable to help if the husband is powerful or if he is the woman's ibn 'amm (father's brother's son) who has, according to the tribal law, the undisputed right to marry his bint 'amm (father's brother's daughter). The father is usually unwilling to help his daughter if he is the one

586 562 593 who forced her to marry the husband, or if she was cut off from the family for some reason or another.

586 562 574 626 From the frequency of women using this right in the area, it seems that no social disapproval is associated with it, nor is there a social stigma attached to women who throw themselves. They seem to find it as easy to find a husband as those women divorced voluntarily by their husbands or with the help of their fathers. In fact, as was 586 562 mentioned earlier, many of them marry the rich men over whom they 587 throw themselves. As to the amount of mahr paid for their subsequent [583] marriages, the fact of throwing themselves does not seem to be a factor [574] in determining the amount of mahr paid. In one of the cases, the woman threw herself on an 'aqila of one of the Geneishat tribe after her father refused to help her get a divorce from her husband who had married a second wife without first asking the first wife's permission. [429] When the Geneishat member succeeded in convincing the husband to divorce his wife, the latter had no place to stay so remained in the house of her protector who acted as her guardian in place of her father [583] who had refused to take her back in his home. While staying in the house of her protector, she got many marriage offers; one of the suitors offered a mahr of L.E. 4,000 ($10,000), one of the highest mahrs reported in the area. She agreed, and the marriage was affected. This mahr is about ten times the mahr she got for her first marriage. This 586 562 procedure offers the woman a considerable guarantee of her marital rights. It also gives her, as far as the ability to dissolve the marriage, a status close to that of her husband. This relative equality is reflected is reflected in the lack of stigma associated with divorced

586 562 women in the Western Desert, and that the women usually have no difficulty in finding another husband.

586 562 593 768 While the right of "throwing herself" offers the wife some guarantee of her rights, her main guarantee is derived from the security she gets from retaining membership in her father's family. After the death of the father, the woman's claims extend to the households of her brothers. She acquires in them the same rights she had in her father's household, and the brothers take the responsibility of their father in protecting and defending their sister. The woman achieves this continuation of support partially through forfeiting her rights of inheritance to her brothers. [428]

562 428 [199] Awlad Ali recognize the right of the daughters to inherit in their father's estate. They accept the system of inheritance specified in the Koraan which gives the woman half the share of her brother. In practice, this is usually side-stepped. Only sons inherit their father's property. The justification given for the non-inheritance of women is that the main items of inheritance in the Western Desert, livestock and the right of land use, require certain protection and care which are beyond the culturally defined roles of women. Livestock require moving from one grazing ground to another, almost always crossing tribal lands belonging to various tribal segments, some of whom might be hostile. It also requires the ability to protect the herds from predators and from raids, especially in earlier times. Similarly, land requires preparation and protection against trespassers, especially when the barley is growing. [233] [311] 233 562 428

562 428 593 Women, however, are supposed to be compensated by their brothers for their shares. But very few would actually ask their brothers for

such compensation. In forfeiting her rights of inheritance, a woman secures for herself and her children the continuous support of her kin-group and the protection of her rights. This support was denied in the few cases I was able to collect in which the woman demanded her share of inheritance. The following is one of these cases. The material presented is a summary of the life history of Fatma, who at the time of the study, was a shopkeeper managing the small general store she owned near the railroad station of Burg el-Arab, some fifty miles west of Alexandria. She also practiced healing and midwifery on a part-time basis.

Fatma was the only daughter with four sons of sheikh El-Asi, who at one time was the aqila of bait Hussein of the Sanagrah tribal segment in the area. He was also known as a mardi and was frequently sought in mediation of disputes. He was believed to have supernatural power which he used to cure people for a certain amount of money. During his lifetime, he had acquired a sizable sum of money which he invested in livestock. At the time of his death his herd, which numbered more than 900 sheep and goats, was considered the finest in the area. He had no barley lands because his camp was deep in the desert, but he had fine grazing land.

Throughout the area the four sons were known for being arrogant and irresponsible. Three of them were employed by one of the irrigation projects carried on by the government in the area as construction workers; the fourth looked after the herd of his father. All four were known as chasers of women, and they frequently went to Alexandria to visit prostitutes and drink liquor.

Fatma was first married when she was eighteen to a man from Alexandria who had opened a general store in the area where her father

159 562 428 593 444 lived. Five years ago the husband died in a mining accident leaving Fatma with a ten-month-old boy. By that time, her father had been disabled, and her brothers wanted to manage her husband's store on her behalf. Knowing that her brothers were greedy, she refused and insisted that she take care of the store herself. The brothers objected on the grounds that it was not customary for a decent woman to be exposed to the customers in the store. When she insisted, the brothers threatened her. When the threats did not work, they beat her. After that, she [625] went to the police station in the area, filed a complaint against her brothers, and asked for police protection. The police officer in charge brought the brothers in and warned them that if they interfered with the store, not only would he arrest them, but he would also use his influence to get them forced from the irrigation projects where three of them worked. The threat worked, and they became friendly with their sister, buying things for the store whenever they went to Alexandria and sometimes helping in the store with her consent when she was on housecalls as a midwife. A year later Fatma was married for the second time to a 159 562 428 593 233 distant cousin; a few months later her father died. In a family meeting that followed the funeral, Fatma made her announcement that she was claiming her share of her father's herd. The brothers were angry and tried to [587] beat her. But the older members of the bait who were present at the meeting stopped them and told them that Fatma had all the right to claim her share of the inheritance according to Awlad Ali ways and that there was nothing that they could do about it. She was characterized in that [578] meeting as "bint haram" (illegitimate child), an insult used to refer to those who show selfishness in their kinship obligations. When she left the camp with her share of the herd, this seemed to have severed

159 the relationship between her and her brothers.
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428 Following her action and until the time of the study, they had
593 never visited her and she had never visited them. Her husband took
[237] care of the herd; and the arrangement worked out all right until the
159 husband told Fatma one day that he was going to marry a second wife.
562 She refused, but he went ahead with the marriage without her consent.
593 He brought the new wife to live with Fatma in the same tin hut in which
595 they were living. He started to pay more attention to the new wife and to neglect Fatma; whenever the latter complained, he beat her. Then, before one of the religious feasts, he sold two of Fatma's sheep and bought his new wife a dress and a silver bracelet. When Fatma objected
[164] and they argued, he hit her with a stick on the head; she was hospitalized for a week with a serious head wound. While in the hospital, she went to her brothers who lived only two miles away, but they refused to
159 come to her assistance. She then went to sheikh Elewa (the aqila of
562 Bait Asabei) and threw herself on him. He met with the husband and con-
594 vinced him to divorce Fatma. He kept forty sheep of Fatma's herd as com-
593 pensation for the mahr he had paid her and the marriage expenses, then
595 took his new wife and moved from Fatma's hut. Fatma then returned and
586 managed her financial affairs successfully herself. She managed the
159 store and hired a shepherd to take care of the sheep. At the time of
562 the present study she was respected by almost everybody in the area, in-
444 cluding members of the local administration. She is known to be reason-
[233] able and of sound opinion, and her store functions as the meeting place
[629] for many of the tribal mi'ads and for casual conversations. She is also
[521] considered as a liason between the tribal population in the area and the local government administration, and is respected by both sides.

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This apparently is not a typical case, nor is Fatma by any means representative of a typical tribal women. It is a case of a marginal woman who had revolted against the tribal definition of a female role. She violated the customary ways of her society and claimed her share of her father's inheritance; and by doing this, she forfeited her right to protection by her brothers. She was able to do this because of her marginality which enabled her to draw upon sources of protection outside the tribal pattern, the police. It is interesting to note here that by doing so, she was not totally eliminated or ostracized from her society; rather, her role was redefined as that of a man, and she was treated as such.

[P.363]

EMRYS PETERS

18. *The Proliferation of Segments in the Lineage of the Bedouin of Cyrenaica [Libya]*[1]

121 In this article I do not propose to discuss the genealogies of the
128 Cyrenaican Bedouin in full, but only such aspects of them as are strictly relevant to an understanding of their process of growth. Many other aspects of these genealogies will be referred to, and indeed, some of the arguments put forward will presume an acceptance of views which cannot be developed adequately in this article. A fuller and more general account of Cyrenaican genealogies is in preparation, and, until this is published, there is no alternative to the somewhat dogmatic statements about them which appear in the introductory part of this article.

174 The Bedouin of Cyrenaica claim that they are all descendants
613 of a unique ancestress, Sa'ada. Writers in the past (e.g.
551 Robertson-Smith 1903) have considered the occurrence of fe-
562 male names in patrilineal genealogies as evidence of an earlier
[173] and matrilineal mode of descent. A more satisfactory explanation of the occurrence of female names is to be found in the combination of two facts: descent in the patriline, whether or

128 Reprinted by permission of the author and the Council from the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 90, pp. 29–53, 1960.

[1] My field work among the Cyrenaican Bedouin was made possible by an
122 award from the Emslie Horniman Fund and a later award from the Treasury Committee for Studentships in Oriental Languages and Cultures. I wish here
121 to express my indebtedness to both committees for their generosity. Much of
128 the work I have done on genealogies was included in a thesis presented for the degree of D.Phil. at Oxford University in 1951. The ideas included in this thesis I developed more systematically in a course of lectures on the Bedouin which I gave at Manchester University during the session 1953–54.
128 I subsequently read papers around the problems discussed in this paper at Oxford and Cambridge Universities. I am grateful to Professor Gluckman for reading this article in manuscript, and for the numerous discussions I have had with him on problems relating to lineage organization.

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

not male names are used, is assumed; and secondly that the Bedouin are polygamous. If, then, half-brother differentiation or full sibling unity is to be shown genealogically, the obvious way in which this can be done is to use a maternal name in the genealogy. Thus, in the Cyrenaican genealogy, a number of tribal groups will be shown as sons of a particular father. If differentiation of these groups needs to be shown, this can be effected by clustering the groups round, say, two female names (the names of the respective mothers) thereby making the two clusters of groups stand in the relationship of paternal half brothers. The concept of the 'one womb', of maternal origin, is a critical one in the context of social cohesion, but it does not deny patriliny; on the contrary, it serves in a sense to reinforce it. Female names can be used to show a greater notion of cohesion than the mere use of male names, and the significance of a female name placed at the apex of the Cyrenaican genealogy is that it is the symbol of full brother unity at the highest political level.

The founding ancestress Sa'ada is credited with two sons, who in turn are considered to be the founding ancestors of the two largest groups of tribes in Cyrenaica. Each of these sons is said to have begottten two sons, as shown on the accompanying genealogy. The next generation shows a total of nine names, and these nine ancestors are considered to be the founding ancestors of the nine noble tribes of Cyrenaica.[2] Continuing the line of descent of one of these tribes—the Magharba—the same pattern of segmentation repeats itself: the tribe is divided into two primary sections having ar-Ra'aid and ash-Shamakh as the respective founding ancestors. Ash-Shamakh is said to have had four sons, and these are the founding ancestors of four secondary sections. These latter four are credited with a varying number of sons, as shown in the genealogy (Fig. 18-1).

One feature of the Cyrenaican genealogy immediately stands out from this brief description: the uniformity in the number of segments at the various levels of segmentation. Along the line of descent from Sa'ada to Nasr, the number of sons shown in the

[2] One of these, the 'Ailat Fayid, now only numbers about 150 souls, and although it is given the structural position of a tribe in the genealogy, it scarcely merits this distinction in practice.

5: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1967 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

682 602 To complete this general statement, two further circumstances are cited by the Bedouin. If a man kills a related person who is not an agnate (it is expressed as killing the mother's brother) the breach in relationships must be healed as quickly as possible. The convention for dealing with this is that the offender, bound hand and foot, mounted on a horse, is sent to the camp of ' the owner of the blood ', in the company of a holy man, there to make an offer of his life, saying: ' Here is my knife, my life is yours; here is my shroud, my life is yours.' No Bedouin would agree for a moment to undertake this journey if he thought the offer might be accepted. In Bedouin sentiments a life offered in this way cannot be taken. It is the convention which precedes a peace meeting and blood money. Any other way of dealing with the confusion, which spreads as a result of a homicide between cognates, is excluded.

682 562 613 Secondly, if a woman is killed, whatever the intersegmentary distance, the homicide is said to be accidental, because a man never ' intends ' to kill a woman. Blood-money arrangements are made as soon as possible, and the wealth—half that of a man—passes to the deceased's father, not to her husband, for a woman's ' bone ' always belongs to her father. Obviously women cannot be allowed to enter into feud; since it is demographically compelling (apart from other reasons) for some of them to marry outside their natal groups, then they might well find themselves residents in the enemy's camps, if they were to become involved in feuds.

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121 682 613 829 619 This statement of the different means available for the regulation of homicide at the several orders of tribal segmentation is the view the Bedouin themselves hold of their relationships. An analysis of the facts presented thus far could bring out a number of interesting points with regard to the relativity of morals, the typification of acts by their social context, the significance of the orders of segmentation, and so on. Rather than proceed along these lines, however, it is more urgently necessary to reflect on the significance of the fact that the arrangement of the material in terms of what is usually called the lineage structure coincides with the Bedouin ordering of the same details. It is, of course, important to note that the account is not based on mere hearsay evidence. Each statement made can be documented from known homicides, and to this extent the model that has been used is consistent with reality. The model, nevertheless, can only be a representation of what a particular people, the Bedouin, conceive their social reality to be; it is a kind of ideology which enables them, without making absurd demands on their credulity, to understand their field of social relationships, and to give particular relationships their *raison d'être*. But, as will be shown, it would be a serious error to mistake such a folk model for sociological analysis. Such an error is difficult to avoid because the Bedouin, when defending their view, are able to cite enough bits and pieces of reality to make their argument convincing. The flaw in the reasoning is seen when it can be shown that its consequences are absurd. As an example of what is meant, the statement that feud is attached to groups at the secondary order of segmentation may be considered. If the statement were true, if each and every secondary section were at feud one with the other (and in a structural sense this ought to be so), then each tribe would be divided into small mutually hostile groups, which completely lacked any possibility of movement, even for pasturing purposes. Presented with this, the Bedouin would argue that this is not in fact so, because secondary and primary sections are interlinked in many ways. That is, they evoke what to them are contingencies to explain why they are at feud with one

121 114 613 619 829 518

5: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1967 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

These three objections to the lineage theory as a useful model for examining the consequences of homicide are serious enough in themselves, but another objection renders it still less satisfactory. This fourth objection relates to the implication that lineage theory cannot take account of women. Indeed, in some of the accounts of the political organization of lineage societies, the impression is given that they are all-male societies: women belong only to the domestic and kinship realms. In terms of the theory, this must be so. Women, the marriage links they create, the forms of relationships that derive from marriage, the right of men to joke with others by virtue of a link through women, their rights to demand favours of men who are not their agnates, their right to expect contributions to bridewealth or blood money from maternal relatives—all these, and other forms of behaviour, have been dealt with as patterns of behaviour which interfere with or disturb agnation, or that cut across lineage affiliations. Such metaphors can only be justified if it is accepted that precedence must be given to agnation, to what people say they think their lineage relationships to be, and that there is some kind of primacy about what have frequently been called jural rules which constitute the structure, while behaviour which is not governed by these rules is to be relegated to the position of secondary forms having the effect of intruding only. But these secondary forms of behaviour are as impelling, as persisting, and are as much a part of social life as any of the so-called jural rules. It is possible to go further than this, and state that in societies where there is a high incidence of marriage among agnates of the local group, as occurs among the Bedouin, jural rules rarely appear in their ' pure ' form in behaviour, since, in groups of this sort, each and every person constitutes a bundle of roles by virtue of the fact that he is one of a very complex cognatic group; a particular role, it is true, may take precedence in a particular situation, but all roles are present in each situation and affect behaviour. Precedence can only be given to specific forms of behaviour in relation to situations. There is no such thing as a general primacy with regard to any form. The concept of agnation as the centre of all political problems, disturbed or disrupted by, say, matrilaterality, is as inadequate as saying that the nucleus which pulls all other components into position is matrilaterality with agnation as a disturbing element. In reality there are numerous components present in all situations, which should not be lumped together under such categorizing terms as agnation and matrilaterality, but which combine as separate components in a kaleidoscopic range of clusters.

Some of the components of behaviour subsumed under the notion of matrilaterality are briefly given here in order to appreciate more fully the consequence of inter-group marriage. Of paramount importance is the fact that, in Bedouin sentiment, to kill a relative is as sinful an act as the killing of a close agnate. When such a homicide did occur, during my period of residence among them, the Bedouin response was to assert that the offender was out of his mind—it was inconceivable that he could have committed the offence otherwise. Their attitude was reminiscent of the horror they display when a man kills his father or a full brother, and represents a much stronger reaction than is manifested when a man kills an agnate of, say, the third or fourth degree. They have every reason to be disturbed by the killing of a mother's brother, for, whatever personal affections may be involved, a crucial link is threatened. Their reasoning, however, is that relationships with the mother's brother are characteristically easy, that they are not demanding, that there is much joking in them, and that to

593 613 tegral part of "the one body"; events which affect a man in this context lie outside a father's field of jurisdiction. The political authority vested in a corporation acts to circumscribe the authority of persons in other fields.

Other rights stem from political membership. As a person with a defined position in a lineage corporation, a man has the right to use the natural resources of its territory. His father, although he instructs his son where to plough and when to water the animals, cannot deny him access to wells, pastures and ploughland. Economically, a son is independent to this extent, although his ability to exploit his right to the natural resources is restricted by his father's control of animals. Ultimately, however, this restriction cannot amount to stultification, because a man has the right to 613 422 735 demand food. In practice, a poor man staves off hunger with donations from this or that individual, and superficially it appears that he is dependent on the personal charity of his fellowmen. This is not so, for what is implicit is that the parcels of wealth controlled by individuals are the possessions of the corporation. It is not accidental that poor people do not go hungry. During my entire stay among the Bedouin I never saw one of them beg or [556] suffer hunger, however marginal the diet of many. Clearly, those with a surplus can and do use it for personal advantage, but the extent to which they can do so is circumscribed by the legal claims which members of a corporation have on the parcels of moveable property held by each of them.

613 421 428 Control over the wealth, whether it be animals or the procreative functions of women, rests, in the final analysis, in a corporation. Inheritance laws specify that women are not legal heirs,[8] and that all male children are equal heirs. Women do, in fact, come to control property, and it is rare that [562] wealth is equally divided among male heirs. The precise details of inherit- [593] ance may partly be decided by a father, but he is limited in his actions. Most of the time inheritance disputes are not of the kind which require action by the corporate group; a case which occured while I was resident with the Bedouin did, however, invoke immediate action. A man, who had left the desert to live in a village on the plateau, had only one daughter. He made it known that he intended to will his entire property to his daughter. When the news was brought to the camps of his fellow agnates, there was great consternation, because, as became clear in their lengthy discussions, the threat now existed that a substantial parcel of property would be removed from the group, a threat made real by the proposed marriage of the daughter [584] to a man of another tribe. The court would have to recognise the daughter's right to some of the property, and the members of the group reluctantly had to concede that there was little they could do about this, but they had one [593] action left to them — they decided that her nearest agnate should demand [584] her in marriage. Usually, the choice of husband for a daughter is a decision

[771] [795] [671] [8] The Bedouin are Sunni Muslims, and, as Samusi, belong to the Maliki school in legal matters. According to court law, women are heirs. However, actual Bedouin practice is contrary to law. For, if women were permitted to inherit, since many marry outside the corporation into which they were born, they could alienate its resources.

sorts of petty ways, listen to his grumbles about his agnates, interfere on his behalf in petty camp quarrels, shield him from the disciplinarian father and guard his property interests against the predatory father's brother; if the mother's brother dies without heirs, the sister's son can reasonably expect at least a share of his wealth. When the mother's brother is a member of a different corporate group, a sister's son cannot possibly expect to inherit from him in any circumstance.

The mother's brother may reside in a camp too distant to be much effective direct help in day-to-day living. His relative remoteness gives the relationship other possible opportunities, however. Rainfall in the semi-desert area of Cyrenaica is highly variable, both from year to year, and from place to place in any given year. As a result this shallow saucer of a depression may have sufficient rain to supply both the water needs of animals and crops, while an area a few miles distant will have inadequate water supplies for either. The mother's brother-sister's son link can mean water for animals and a crop of barley for both when, in successive years, the resources of one area or the other are inadequate.

The differences in the relations between men and their mother's brother do not end with a characterisation of their antipodal forms. The demographic structure of a group may be such that one man may have a number of mother's brothers, another only one; one man may have to share with several brothers, another may be an only son. Complications of this sort determine the precise relationships between men, but however intricate these may be, each corporate group has its matrilateral links with a group occupying a slightly different ecological area, and it also has a plurality of matrilateral connections within it. Further, if a direct connection is not available to any particular individual he can use an indirect link (e.g. father's mother's brother or mother's mother's brother) to satisfy his needs.

The Preference for Males

Thus far, the family and the social matrix in which it is embedded has been discussed in general terms, most particularly in reference to several selected sets of relationships. I wish now to place these relationships in a more specific setting with a brief discussion of the composition of a small camp of a group inhabiting the arid areas of central Cyrenaica. When the Bedouin give their views on the structure of the family in Cyrenaica they speak of it as consisting of a pair of spouses and about ten children, mainly males. The emphasis on males is not mere sentiment, overwhelmingly though it favours them against females. Additional males in a family increase the productive possibilities of a family in the sense that more herdsmen become available and larger ploughing commitments can be undertaken; an increase in the number of females has small effect on production since they are precluded from any direct participation in these activities. Both sexes, ranging in age from about seven years to mature adulthood, are necessary if a family

Cases

829 594 562 858 is to constitute a viable economic unit; and if it is to expand, the number of males must be increased disproportionately compared with females. Since the structure of this "ideal family" (which in the sentiments of the Bedouin is the only family) is based on the division of labour, some details of the tasks and their allocation among members of a family are included to estimate the importance of this notional "ideal family."

The Division of Labour, by Sex

462 286 The tasks women perform are almost entirely associated with the tent. They make the tent top, and the gaily coloured carpets which cover the sandy ground in the men's quarters. They also weave the material for making sacks, and nose bags for horses and camels. Throughout the year a piece of weaving is always on the loom waiting, and while any women of the tent may take a turn at weaving, the mother decides what is to be made, its pattern and colours and in general directs operations. Women also pitch 462 342 the tent when the camp is moved; they do so unaided by the men. It is a task which requires considerable strength and only grown girls and mature women can assist in this; younger girls scour the vicinity in search of stones to hold the sides of the tent on the ground after it has been erected. [356] As soon as pitching is complete, the floor of the tent is brushed clean before carpets are spread and the few articles of personal belongings placed in their proper position.

462 313 Next, brushwood must be fetched in large quantities for fires. Apart from cooking needs and winter warmth, the fire of each tent is in constant use for preparing the sickly sweet tea, almost the consistency of syrup, which is drunk several times a day regularly and which is made again for even the casual visitor. The task of fetching brushwood is performed daily, and each load takes a few hours of a woman's time to gather and bring back [412] to the tent. Bushes are uprooted with the aid of a long-handled adze and piled together, to be carried on her back for the homeward journey. The load is cumbersome and heavy; only girls in their late teens and mature women can cope with it.

462 252 412 All cooking is done by the women. Most meals consist of cereal dishes of various sorts, so that grinding, using heavy millstones, is a perpetual activity to satisfy the demands for large quantities of flour. Millstones are bought in the villages. In most small camps there only one or two sets, so they are passed round from one woman to another. The stones are very heavy but when they are carried from tent to tent men offer no assistance.

462 312 [492] Each tent also requires large quantities of water for human consumption. If the camp is located near a well, water is drawn in small quantities, frequently. Young girls and boys take a donkey to the well, fill a couple of jerry cans with water, wait for an older sister to load them on the donkey and then drive the beast back to camp. After a fall of rain, while puddles of water remain on the ground, mature women make haste to gather the

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462 424 them or any innate aptitude for them; this insistence is an index of the jealousy with which she is prepared to guard her rights. Each right derived from this or that small task is an extension of her control over the male.

462 424 252 The force and significance of this control is, perhaps, best seen in a woman's right to cook. At marriage a woman must have at least the minimum of cooking utensils, and one of the rights a man acquires in a woman is that she cooks for him. This is something a man cannot do for himself. [593] Therefore, when a man ill-treats his wife or threatens her with divorce, she can retaliate by refusing to cook, or leave the tent altogether to return to her father. A man bereft of this service is in a very sorry plight indeed. The legal dominance of the male, seemingly autocratic, is reduced at every point by the control a woman exercises through her exclusive right to perform tasks. The limits to the area of her coercive powers are significant. •562 They are confined almost wholly to domestic relationships. Legally, women suffer such disabilities that they are almost of the status of minors; in reality, their day-to-day living is far from intolerable because they are able to control males over a wide field of relationships.

462 424 231 Men, excluded in the main from domestic duties around the tent, perform tasks to which their legal rights are tied. While women have access to wells for water used by human beings, the transport of larger quantities of water over longer distances, requiring the use of camels, is a task which falls to the men. Watering of animals is done by men. Only they can slaughter the animals for food. The meat of an animal slaughtered by a woman is not "free," in a ritual sense, for human consumption. In an extremity only, a woman can, in effect, kill an animal, but the knife which cuts its throat must be held in a male hand, even if it is the hand of a very small boy. 462 The exploitation of the land is also the male prerogative. They [424] plough and sow the grain; incidental help may be provided by wives working [241] alongside their husbands during the early part of reaping, but the main reaping is done entirely by men. Transportation of grain to the mounds is also carried out by men, and it is they only who have access to the grain stores when quantities are withdrawn for family use. Sheep-shearing is [236] carried out entirely by males,[10] the fleeces are stacked by them and the [432] distribution and sales of these is directed by the male head of the tent.

Additional to these major tasks which males undertake are a number of minor ones. Men sew strips of cotton together to make clothes for both sexes. They also make rope of grass, albeit in a desultory sort of way, by twisting together the strands between the palms of the hands. A number of [834] other tasks fall to the men by virtue of the fact that the sexes are separated [342] in the tent by a divider of blanket material, which may be taken down when only members of the elementary family are about, but which is put

[461] [533] [538] [831] [10] This work is reserved for the younger men and takes the form of a festival during which lewd songs are sung and poems with obscene themes or references are recited loudly and within the hearing of elders, in a manner not dissimilar to the behaviour of bachelors at a wedding.

would be impossible to satisfy all marriage expectations of men within the universe of the minimal tribal section. For this reason alone external links are inevitable and persistent. Also, the small territorial strip such a group claims as a homeland produces an economy which, in this environment, is unstable. Additional security is gained by making connections with other tribal sections, each with its specific ecological character. Men also marry into their client groups. The proportion of these for this camp was 9 per cent of the total. From these links they gain economic advantages, they can claim services and a client-following is politically significant. Finally, 7 per cent of the total[18] are marriages with women of other tribes, which again not only reduces the instability of the economy (in that a large tribal area suffering near-famine conditions has access to areas of markedly different ecology), but also provides political connections for men whose power ambitions have passed the point of leadership limited to their own tribes. In one way or another all these interests are manifest in the small camp and attention is now directed to the latter.

The disposition of people in the camp is represented diagrammatically on the page following.

The nucleus of the camp is Tent A. Its owner (1) was a powerful *Shaikh*, the son of a famous father. His marriage represents a political link with a group of one of the primary sections of his own tribe. His father died only a few years before I recorded my census, and the large amount of moveable property he left had still not been divided among the sons; the owner of the tent, as eldest brother, still controlled the flocks and herds. Most of his time he spent away from the camp engaging in political intrigue. His two younger brothers lived in his tent, but the second (5) would not remain there long because negotiations for his marriage had been started. His father (2) married a parallel cousin; she died and shortly afterwards he took her sister (3) in sororal union. When this occurred an amount of bride-wealth was agreed, but instead of giving any of it to her father, the entire amount was "put in front of her" (that is, the animals were allowed to remain with her husband's flock), and these animals she had marked with her brother's tribal sign to distinguish them from those of her husband. It was widely known that she was going to leave these animals to her husband's second son, for although she could not transfer them to a male outside her husband's corporate group, she could decide who, among his heirs, should inherit.

During my stay in this camp, her brother's son (4) came to it as a temporary resident for a month. Since he was poor, the purpose of his visit was to capture some of his aunt's wealth while she was still alive and the possibility still existed. During his stay he was fed well but did no work. His kinsmen found his company tiresome, so, to cut short his stay, and after consulting her nominated heir (5), she gave him three grown goats. Also when an occasion arose for an animal slaughter, she provided the sheep, and,

[18] The remainder is made up of marriages to the daughters of men incorporated into the lineages.

CHAPTER VII

BLOODMONEY—WESTERN DESERT

000 Payment in Cash—Agreements to pay—Reprisals discouraged—Patricide—Detective Work—Death from Fright—Public Aversion—The twelve-year-old Bill—Informers—Ali Abu Bukr's Cistern—The Broken Rope—Found Drowned—Three Months' Hard Labour—Whose Rope?—Payment—The Old Man who fell off the Wall—The Clutches of the Police—A Well-conceived Lie—Ibrahim's Broken Leg—Ali's Cunning—The Fiasco at the Tomb—Reductions in Payment—The Dead Baby—Amateur Lawyers—The Two Shepherds and the Trespasser—Stick or Stone?—Legal Arguments—Travelling Allowance—Misappropriation—Chaos—Mirtah buys Sheep, while the Sayed buy Dates—The Clash—£300—Abdel Kerim and his Cousin—The Boys Fight—Result of pointing a Gun—Dirty Fingers—Serve him Right—The Two Married Sisters—A Gun Accident—Poor Towida—Successful Bluffing.

682 [171] [435] [562] IN the Western Desert the laws of bloodmoney differ considerably from those of Sinai, the former being of African origin and the latter of Arabian. The Western Bedouin regard the price of a man as £300, irrespective of the market price of a camel; and the value of a woman's life as normally £150, or half that of a man.

682 695 562 In the absence of satisfactory evidence in a case of murder, if the oath be employed to decide the issue, fifty men will swear for a man's life, and twenty-five in a case involving the life of a woman. (NOTE. In some tribes these numbers are increased to fifty-five and twenty-seven respectively.)

682 621 As regards the payment and acceptance of bloodmoney, this is almost invariably by agreement between the families, and it is often difficult for an outsider to see any rhyme or

8: Kennett G-5 (ca. 1921) 1925 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9

should have called a meeting with Abd el Salam, discussed the position sensibly with him, and then the two of them should have beaten all the boys soundly. Secondly, he ought never to have taken his gun with him, which was as stupid as it was dangerous. The fact that Abd el Kerim himself knew that it was not loaded made not the slightest difference to the case, as the boys did not, and could not, know whether it was loaded or not. As one of the sheikhs expressed it, "If you point a gun at me, loaded or unloaded, I'm not going to risk it. So if I retaliate by braining you, then that's your fault—not mine!"

As compared with some of the customs obtaining among the Sinai Arabs, the following case among the Aulad Ali in the Western Desert is illuminating, and will be quoted in full. The question of who is "chief mourner" of the deceased, and who draws the largest share in a bloodmoney case varies considerably between the tribes of Arab and Berber origin. Among the Aulad Ali a woman killed is automatically half the value of a man, whereas among the Arabs the value of a woman depends on a variety of conditions.

A man called Idris had two daughters, Towida and Beida. Beida married a man called Korayem Shushan of the Gereidat tribe, and Towida married Farag Gueida of the Mowalik tribe. A son had been born to Towida and Farag called Lataif Farag; and when Lataif was about four years old, his parents quarrelled about some trifling matter, and Farag divorced Towida. Two months after this, Towida went to spend a day or two with her sister Beida and Korayem, and it was while sitting alone in their tent that the accident happened which was the cause of this lawsuit. It seems that Korayem had left a loaded gun tied up with cord to the roof of the tent, suspended from the poles. While Towida was sitting there, a sudden gust of wind got up, and shook the tent violently. As the tent rocked in the wind, the gun came tumbling down on to a wooden chest between the poles; the impact fired the

9: Murray E, K-3, 4 (ca. 1910-1935) 1935 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Egypt

Had the Senussi been successful in the last war, they would no doubt have brought in the 'Ibeidat or the 'Awaqir from Cyrenaica to replace the Awlad 'Ali in Egypt.

At the present day the Awlad 'Ali, especially the eastern sections near the Nile Valley, have almost ceased to be nomadic, and only the old men have memories of their former warlike habits. They suffered considerably during the Great War, but are again becoming prosperous. They now own large comfortable tents, are beginning to build houses and clear out cisterns, and are also said to be increasing in numbers.[1] So civilized have they grown that my guides, one a Sinai Arab and the other an 'Abadi, concurred in calling them "green"—not real desert-worthy Bedouins.

Perhaps as a result of Libyan influence, or more probably the better nurture and climate, they are taller, heavier, stronger, and lighter-complexioned than the lightly built Arabs of Sinai and Hijaz. Also they are much franker and more straightforward than their shifty and suspicious eastern cousins, and altogether more trustworthy. Their women only veil themselves to strangers, and talk quite naturally and cheerfully to the men of their own tribe.

They cultivate as much barley as they can, using a primitive plough drawn by camels, in the clayey hollows scattered over their very stony limestone desert, but, as the rainfall is very uncertain, a good crop only occurs every five or six years. After harvest, they exchange some of their barley for maize, which the women grind to make bread as required, and some for dried dates. The seed for next year is buried in a hole lined with straw and covered with clay, and a year's forage for the animals is set aside. The rest of the crop goes to market, and for a short time the Arab has money to buy clothes for himself and his family and at utmost need to pay off some of the numerous debts he has inherited from his forefathers. Soon he is reduced again to the clothes he wears, the tent he sleeps in, and his animals grazing in the desert.

They are great breeders of camels and sheep, and a busy traffic in these goes on weekly in the markets of Hammam, 'Amriya, and the Beheira. So they have got into the habit

[1] At the 1927 census, the Western Desert Arabs, Awlad 'Ali, Jawabis, etc., numbered 38,928 souls exclusive of those settled in Beheira. But Pacho, 100 years ago, estimated them at 38,000 souls.